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856 by getting the child to take a few steps, and every mother is delighted when her baby starts walking. She beams with pride when she can get the baby to demonstrate the new accomplishment and rewards him with smiles, caresses, and loving words. On the other hand, not much concern is shown if a child seems to be slow in walking, and he is not shamed by his relatives.

Similarly, when he learns to talk is largely determined by the child's own development. The mother usually denies teaching the baby and says that he learned by imitation, though she may coax him by saying a few words and reward him with caresses if he succeeds in imitating her. Children begin efforts at speech at about twenty-two months; by two and a half years they are able to make most of their wants known verbally.

195 All Papago use baby talk in addressing a child until he is about five. There-
854 after he is supposed to enunciate clearly and is embarrassed when adults tease him by addressing him in baby language.

863 Cleanliness training is delayed until the child can walk and understand instruction. The infant wears diapers most of the time, and children up to about two and a half years always wear them in public. However, at home the older baby is frequently dressed only in a shirt. Urination in the yard, or even on the dirt floor of the house, is considered no misdemeanor in one so young. When he is about twenty months old, or earlier if he can walk easily, the mother begins taking him into the bushes away from the house and telling him to urinate there. His older brothers and sisters are instructed to take him with them when they go to the bushes, and he learns largely by imitation. He soon becomes aware of the extreme modesty of his relatives during elimination, and by the time he is three and a half or four years old he knows that he is supposed to go to the bushes with members of his own sex.

Mothers say that they do not have much difficulty with cleanliness training. By the time it is begun, the child is old enough to understand directions and to want to imitate his older playmates, and so he learns quickly. That he is perhaps three years old at the time is no cause for concern from the Papago point of view. If the child soils himself or his clothes after this time, his mother will make a face and utter a disagreeable sound, saying "dirty" or "nasty." She tells him that he is dirty and that he must not do that here, and sometimes she warns him that the animals or ghosts will get him.

863 The white woman trader in the West reports that she has seen mothers try
177 to make children of two and a half or three clean up their feces after they had an accident in the store. The women would scold and threaten all the time and then thoroughly wash the children under an outdoor faucet. Since this treatment was not observed in the home, and no mother mentioned having used

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it, the method may have been adopted for the occasion because the mothers know the fussiness of whites in such matters.

Weaning comes later for the Papago than for most white children. Unaware of her child's exact age at the time, the mother who is questioned about it is likely to laugh and say with a little embarrassment, "He was pretty big." Several instances were found in which the youngest child of a family nursed four or five years, but the older children were weaned at from eighteen to thirty months. A few mothers begin weaning at about a year, but they are a small minority; ordinarily the mother continues nursing well into the next pregnancy.

Several weaning methods are used. A few mothers in Baboquivari District said that they simply stopped nursing their babies and let them cry for four to fourteen days until they forgot, but elsewhere on the Reservation this was not the practice.

Mothers usually say they "just stop" nursing and that they have no particular difficulty. When a child begins fussing to nurse, the mother does not deny him straightforwardly but puts forth great effort to draw his attention elsewhere. She cajoles him into playing with his siblings or shows him a man coming on horseback or dogs fighting in the yard. Sometimes she is successful in diverting him, and, after several similar instances, the child does "just stop."

If a mother cannot wean a child by this process, she has two alternatives. She may leave the child with his grandmother for a time. If the grandmother lives in the same house, the mother goes away; if not, the child is taken to the grandmother. The weaning is not accomplished at one fell swoop; the baby is left for only a couple of hours at first and eventually overnight. His relationship with a grandmother is always cordial and going to see her is a pleasure, hence this weaning method, like the preceding one, is a relatively painless one. The child seldom gives any trouble for a grandmother; he seems to forget all about nursing unless reminded by the sight of his mother.

A few women, usually those who have no mother or mother-in-law at hand to help, put chili on their breasts to discourage the nursers; one application is usually sufficient.

Weaning means that the child begins to sleep apart from his mother, for she no longer needs to nurse him during the night. In the eastern districts a crib may be provided for the baby, but the general custom on the Reservation is for the weaned child to sleep with one or more of his brothers and sisters in the same room with the parents. If there is no room in the bed with the older children, the baby may sleep with either grandparent or almost any other